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To these must be added obvious cultural elements that have come directly or indirectly from the white races.

The task before us is now to determine, as exactly as possible, these conjectural influences from various sources, and to define their nature and range; also, if possible, to find out from what districts the Choroti and Ashluslay originally started for the tracts they now inhabit.

To this end I have adopted the method of marking on the map of S. America the geographical distribution of a great number of cultural elements characteristic of the Choroti and Ashluslay, i. e. I have marked on the map, as exactly as possible, the distribution of each cultural element throughout the S. American continent

I have therefore attempted to draw up maps of the weapons, ornaments, articles of clothing, household utensils, and so on, characteristic of the Choroti and Ashluslay Indians in South America.

I have likewise tried to sketch maps of the distribution of various examples of technical skill exemplified by these Indians For this purpose I have turned to literary studies, besides utilizing the extensive collections that I made during my travels in S. America.

Thus, for instance, in determining the distribution of a cultural element, I have first mentioned its occurrence among the Indian tribes visited by me personally. These are, in addition to the Ashluslay and the Choroti, the Atsahuaca (in the border-land of Peru and Bolivia), Aymara, Baure, Canichana and Cayubaba (in N. E. Bolivia), Cavino (on the Rio Beni), Chacobo (in N.E. Bolivia), Chána (on the R. Madidi, a tributary of the R. Beni), Chané (on the R. Itiyuro in North Argentina, and the Rio Parapiti in Bolivia) Chimane (on the R. Maniqui, a tributary of the R. Mamoré), Chiriguano, Churápa (near Sa. Cruz de la Sierra), Guarayú (Guarayos, Bolivia), Guarayú-Pauserna, Huanyam and Huari (near the R. Guaporé), Itonama (in N.E. Bolivia) Matgco (in the Gran Chaco), Mosetene (on the R. Beni),

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For several reasons I have confined myself to an investigation of the material culture of the Choroti and Ashluslay Indians. Maps elucidating the geographic distribution of certain conceptions and social circumstances can of course also be put together. Unfortunately, however, it has proved that in such a task one is continually brought up against the difficulty that primary facts are lacking for vast regions.

I might have taken another tribe than the Choroti and the Ashluslay, and have attempted an analysis of their civilization in the same way. That I should have chosen these particular tribes is due to my possessing a very complete collection of their things, and to these tribes being fairly untouched by the civilization of the white races. In addition to this, I have been greatly interested in the influence of the culture of the mountainous region of the Chaco. In reality, the maps and particulars here given also afford much information about other tribes than those dealt with in the first instance, and I therefore hope that the present work will be of some use to scholars whose researches deal with other parts of S. America.

A few years ago I published a book of travels[1]) in which I gave a fairly full account of the civilization of the Choroti and the Ashluslay. It will therefore be sufficient in the present work to refer to the data necessary for the tables and maps, i. e. the data calculated to throw light upon the geographical distribution and the origin of the different cultural elements.

Wherever I have come across a reliable authority on, let us say, a certain kind of weapons in the kingdom of the Incas at the time of the Discovery, I have assumed that it

[1]) »Indianlif», Stockholm, 1910. There is a Translation into German under the title of »Indianerleben», Leipzig 1912. There is also a French edition, which is unfortunately very faultily translated, and against which I must warn readers. There are some errors, too, in the German translation.

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II.

The Migrations of the Cultural Elements.

121 We must bear in mind that, in trying to draw conclusions from the geographical distribution of a cultural element, it is necessary to take account of where it may occur on the basis of natural conditions, the external assumptions for its use being present. There are of course a number of things in the culture of a people which are suited to the circumstances in which that people lives[1].) If, for instance we take a cultural element such as the sling, its distribution is restricted by the circumstance that this weapon can only be used in open ground. On the other hand, the knuckle-duster is an element which is independent of external circumstances: it can be used just as well by forest folk as by people in the plains, in the tropics as well as in cold places. Games of chance, again, are quite independent of the external conditions in which a race lives. Cards can be played equally well on the equator as in the polar circle. The same, to take a further example, is true of tattooing.

These cultural elements, which are independent of natural phenomena, generally consist of such as are comparatively or entirely unessential in the struggle for existence. Natural phenomena having set no impediment to their spread, they afford us excellent clues in the study of the migrations of peoples and civilizations.

[1]) We almost entirely miss this consideration in PATER SCHMIDT'S work, »Kulturkreise und Kulturschichten in Südamerika«.

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When a people moves from one district to another, it retains as a rule most of its old culture. If the new district offers other essential conditions than the old, a considerable part of the culture of the people must naturally undergo a change. Thus, in 1909 I came across a couple of Guarayú Indians on the Rio Parapati. They had long portable baskets, woven out of paripinnate palm-leaves. As we entered the Parapiti territory the baskets became worn out, but as there were no paripinnate palms in this part, they could not make new ones. If, for any reason, the Guarayú tribe were forced to migrate from their present region to the Parapiti region, they would have to change the type of their portable baskets. Similarly they would not be able to make their bows and arrows from the same material as now; and so on. Actually their material culture would undergo quite a number of changes. Every considerable shifting in the territorial spread of a tribe must have been accompanied by changes in its material culture. Should, for instance, the Indians in the Chaco be forced by circumstances to migrate to more northerly parts, to more exuberant primeval forests, as the rainy woods east of Sta. Cruz de la Sierra,[1]) their material culture would certainly assume a very different appearance. Sheep-breeding would then be impossible, clothes and ornaments of wool or pelt would disappear; the Caraguatá industry, which plays such a great part in the Chaco, would be impossible; baskets would probably have to take the place of pouches; and the dwellings would certainly take on another appearance. All this is, of course, a physical necessity.

It is not, however, probable that an Indian tribe would willingly migrate to another district which should offer it quite strange natural resources. When the Incas or Quichuas extended their rule from Quito to the north of Argen-

[1]) A shifting of this kind has taken place recently, some Tsirakua Indians from the Chaco Boreal having taken refuge in the primeval woods east of Sa.Cruz de la Sierra.

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121 tina, they came to districts where they could live in about the same circumstances as at home. They also had settlements, however, at no great distance off, in the primeval woods near their own capital. They established themselves in the primeval forest valleys on the eastern slopes of the Andes, chiefly on account of the cultivation of coca, but they did not give up their permanent abodes in the mountains. They only visited the settlements in the primeval forests for sowing and gathering the harvest. In North Argentina, as in the mountainous districts of Ecuador, they found about the same essential conditions as in the neighbourhood of Cuzco. Had they penetrated into the primeval woods some fifty miles east of Cuzco, and settled there, they would have had to adapt themselves to entirely new conditions.

Of course a race clings to its old culture, and there is also much, of course, in the material culture of a race which need not fear a change because the race has been brought under other climatic conditions, has moved from a plain to the hills, from rainy woods to dry districts, and the like.

At times one can probably work out where a race has come from, because it has preserved some cultural elements from the old domain which are now of no practical use to it. Thus, when some of the Indians in the Chaco wear fur cloaks, this is probably due to conservatism: they wear a garment to which they had been accustomed in the colder climate of further south.

It is certain that the material culture of a tribe more easily undergoes important changes when it moves from one district into another with different climatic conditions than when it remains under the same external essential conditions. The changed conditions force the tribe to adapt itself to the new circumstances. If, in the new district the tribe comes in friendly contact with people who have adapted themselves to the local conditions, and who for generations have gathered experiences, it is natural that it should

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learn a great deal from them. Its material culture will then show a mixture of the old culture and the culture it meets with in the tribe of the new district. |21

Tribes of very different origin, which live together with an interchange of culture under the same natural conditions; generally get a homogeneous culture. Of such a nature, for instance, is that of the Pano and Tacana tribes in the border country of Peru and Bolivia. So also with the various tribes in the Chaco. On the upper Rio Xingú live the Karaib, Arawak and Guarani tribes. They all have a similar civilization. The Chiriguano (Guarani) who have moved to their present locality, have now almost the same material culture as the Chané (Arawaks), who have been there a good while. On the other hand, their culture is very different from that of the Guarayú Indians, who migrated at about the same time as the Chiriguano, or early in the 16th century, from the neighbourhood of the Rio Paraguay, and who probably then possessed a culture similar to theirs.[1])

The neighbours of the Chiriguano towards the Chaco are the Guarani-fied Tapiete. These Indians, who are presumably more closely related to the Mataco group than to the Chiriguano, have adopted the language of the latter, but the bulk of their culture from the former[2]). This proves the posibility of two tribes with very dissimilar culture living together in friendly intercourse, without their culture assimilating.

The culture of a people can of course change, although the external essential conditions remain the same. But these changes take place very slowly under such circumstances, unless the tribe is exposed to influences from without, i. e. from other tribes. If it is a large tribe, the culture presumably changes quicker than if it is a small one. New ideas naturally arise more easily among a few hundred thousand

[1]) Nordenskiöld (13).
[2]) Nordenskiöld (7).

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● 121 individuals than among small tribes of a few thousand or a few hundred members.

A great part can undoubtedly be played in the development of the culture of a tribe by rape, the women that have been raped being taken up in the tribe and exercising the same handicraft as before. When a great number of raped women of a highly developed tribe are taken up by a tribe of lower standing, their cultural influence is bound to be very great. It may be assumed that even in their new surroundings they cling to their old technical methods of weaving, making pottery, etc.

The rape of women is, and was, common above all other things among Indian tribes. The little tribes of the Atsahuaca and Tambopata-Guarayo, for instance, in the border country of Peru and Bolivia, still carry off each other's women. We know that, when the Chiriguano conquered their present locality, they abducted great numbers of women from tribes living there and in the vicinity. If we study the cultural influences that a tribe has received from a certain source, we must examine whether it is industries that are specially practised by women which produce this influence. In that case there is reason to conclude that the cultural influences have been brought about by abduction.

With regard to most of the cultural elements that the Indians have received from the white men, their origin is easily comprehensible. Thus, that all that has to do with the employant of horses, comes from the white races, goes without saying. On the other hand, with regard to certain cultural elements it is at times very hard to decide whether they are originally American or not. This is true of such a thing as the needle with an eye. Such needles were found in western America in pre-Columbian times, and from there they probably reached the Chaco. Yet the Indians of the Chaco may have learnt the use of the needle from the white men. Sewing-needles were already at an early time a favourite and oft-employed article of barter.

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We must bear in mind that a race with a lower civilization is apt to imitate a more highly developed, or, let us say, a richer race, in clothes, adornments, etc. A tribe does not condescend to wear the adornments of more backward and poorer neighbouring tribes, but readily wears the ornaments and clothes of races more advanced and richer than themselves. Thus, the Chiriguano[1]) are fond of dressing like the white men, and the women bore their ear-lobes to be able to wear the earrings used by the white people. In this tribe it is characteristically the women of the younger generation, who have been more influenced by the white people that have bored ear-lobes, while the older women never wear ear-drops. On the other hand, the Chiriguano would nëver think of imitating the less civilized tribes in the Chaco. |2|

In the same way presumably, the Indian tribes east of the Andes have imitated the Incas, or Indians on a like cultural level, with whom they have come in contact.

Throughout the Chaco it is in the first place the chieftains and the interpreters that dress like the whites. This is regarded as being smart. SÁNCHEZ LABRADOR[2]) relates characteristically of the Mbayá on the Rio Paraguay, that the chieftains and the medicine-men, but not the other Indians, wore shirts reaching to the feet, a garb that was universal in the Inca Kingdom. It was smart to be dressed like the more advanced Indians, for which reason they copied them and spread the new fashions. Sepp[3]) relates that among the Yaro (Chaná) on the lower Rio Uruguay the chieftains slept in hammocks, the others on skins spread on the ground. This, too, was certainly at the outset a matter of fashion.

A more cultured race exerts a certain attraction upon a lower one, as long as the latter is not exposed to interference from the former. The Tapiete (one of the minor

[1]) NINO, p. 108.
[2]) Vol. I. p. 284.
[3]) P. 51.

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Chaco tribes) even apply for work to the more highly developed, fully domiciled Chiriguano, as at whiles the Mataco Indians apply to the Chané. The Incas and the tribes of N. Argentina belonging to the Bronze Age civilization, most certainly exercised a similar influence on the less civilized tribes with whom they had friendly relations.

For purposes of trade a higher tribe may of course visit a lower one. This can still be seen in the Chaco, where the Chané visit the Toba to exchange things for their dried fish. On such expeditions they are always amiable, we may suppose, and an exchange of commodities of this kind is very important for the spread of ideas.

When a cultural element has such a distribution that it occurs among a higher tribe and neighbouring lower tribes, and is otherwise lacking in extensive tracts I have assumed that as a rule it has reached the lower tribe from the higher. Thus, for example, if a cultural element occurs in the old cultural territory of the west of S. America, and is now found among a lower tribe in a territory adjoining that, we can assume in most cases that it came originally from the cultural part.

In the following pages, in speaking of the maps, I shall quote numerous examples of cultural elements with a distribution of that kind. Many of them occur only in the Chaco and within the cultural zone in western S. America. All the cultural elements with a distribution of this kind must have had a common origin, which cannot very well have been the Chaco, but must have been the cultural western zone.

What is true of the Bronze Age culture in relation to such tribes as the Choroti and Ashluslay, may be held to be true in general of the Guarani and Arawak tribes in relation to the first-named. It is the Choroti and Ashluslay that have borrowed some cultural elements from the more civilized Guarani and Arawak tribes, and not vice versa.

It has proved there that a great number of cultural

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elements have a westernly distribution, and evidently reached the Choroti and Ashluslay from the Bronze Age civilization in the west; a smaller number of cultural elements show a distribution which points to their having come from the north and east; others have a pronouncedly southern distribution; while others, again, only occur in the Chaco. 121

In the case of some cultural elements it has been impossible to draw up satisfactory maps, as they have been neglected by most investigators; some have such a distribution that it is impossible to decide from where the Choroti and Ashluslay got them.

Occasionally the higher races in the west seem to have taken over cultural elements from the tribes east of the Andes, but this does not seem to have been the general rule.

It is, of course, often difficult to decide whether a cultural element reached the lower tribes from the civilization of the mountains or whether it derived from a primitive civilization common to the mountains and to these tribes. We must attempt to decide this in each special case from the nature and distribution of the element. If, for instance, the Kelim technical skill, which is so characteristic of the cultural district in the west, occurs in the Chaco, but not in any other part of S. America east of the Andes, we have reason to assume that this cultural element is a loan made by the Chaco Indians from the mountain civilization. The same is true, for example, also of such cultural elements as shirts, certain curious whistles, etc. - A cultural element such as the carrying net, for instance, which is characteristic of western S. America, but also occurs in the Chaco and among certain undeveloped tribes in Brazil, did not, probably, spread from the mountains to the tribes east of the Andes, but dates from a very old period and a common primitive civilization.

In the following I will speak first of the material culture of the Chaco tribes here dealt with, and state the ev-

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[21] idence which I have collected about the distribution of each several cultural element, and which forms, so to speak, the verification of the maps. I will then tabulate the cultural elements which seem to have a common origin.